

Message Text

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R 111039Z APR 78
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5389
INFO AMEMBASSY BISSAU
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USINT HAVANA
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS3
TAGS: PGOV, PO, AO
SUBJECT: PORTUGUESE LEADERS ON ANGOLA

SUMMARY: IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS APRIL 6 WITH DEPTOFF
AND EMBOFF, PRESIDENTIAL DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR LUIS MARTINS AND
PS INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY RUI MATEUS SAW ANGOLAN PRESIDENT
NETO AS INCREASINGLY ISOLATED BY HIS CUBAN AND SOVIET
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ADVISORS. BOTH EXPECT NO IMPROVEMENT, AND PERHAPS A DECLINE,
IN ANGOLAN-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE
GOP IS NOW ACTIVELY SEEKING THE ASSISTANCE OF THE GUINEA
BISSAUANS AND CAPE VERDEANS IN MATTERS RELATED TO ANGOLA.
PRESIDENT EANES WANTS TO DISCUSS AFRICAN MATTERS WITH PRESIDENT
CARTER DURING THE WASHINGTON NATO MEETING IN MAY. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENTIAL PESSIMISM ON ANGOLA: PRESIDENTIAL DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR LUIS MARTINS TOLD DEPTOFF AND EMBOFF APRIL 6 THAT THE GOP IS INCREASINGLY WORRIED ABOUT THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN ANGOLA. THE GOP SEES NETO AS BECOMING MORE ISOLATED BY THE MEN AROUND HIM AND BY HIS SOVIET AND CUBAN ADVISORS FROM DECISIONS ON VITAL FOREIGN POLICY AND OTHER MATTERS. MARTINS BELIEVES THE SOVIETS, AND ESPECIALLY THE CUBANS, ARE TRYING TO FREEZE OUT THE PORTUGUESE. NETO HAS NOT RESPONDED TO GOP OFFERS TO SUPPLY TECHNICIANS. MARTINS THOUGHT THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS WERE BLOCKING A POSITIVE RESPONSE, BECAUSE THE CUBANS "DON'T WANT THE COMPETITION." ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT EANES HAS TRIED TO MAINTAIN A CHANNEL TO NETO THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF PERSONAL MESSAGES, NETO HAS NOT RESPONDED TO RECENT LETTERS. EANES ALSO HAD "PUT OUT FEELERS" TO PROPOSE THAT HE AND NETO SCHEDULE A PERSONAL MEETING IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT HAS NOT RECEIVED A RESPONSE.

2. NEW CHANNELS: THE PRESIDENT IS NOW TRYING TO ENLIST THE AID OF THE GUINEA BISSAUANS AND CAPE VERDEANS TO FURTHER PORTUGUESE INTERESTS WITH THE ANGOLANS. EANES HAS SCHEDULED TO STOP IN CAPE VERDE AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS SOUTH AMERICAN TRIP IN LATE MAY PRIMARILY TO DISCUSS ANGOLAN MATTERS WITH GUINEA BISSAU PRESIDENT LUIS CABRAL. WHEN EANES ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON FOR THE NATO SUMMIT MEETING FOLLOWING HIS LATIN AMERICAN STOPS, MARTINS SAID THE PRESIDENT WILL WANT TO DISCUSS AFRICAN MATTERS WITH PRESIDENT

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CARTER. MARTINS, WHO WILL ACCOMPANY EANES, OFFERED TO TALK WITH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON AFRICAN AND OTHER ISSUES. HE HOPED TO BE ABLE, BY THAT TIME, TO REPORT PROGRESS IN EANES'S FEELERS TO NETO, BUT OFFERED NO CONCRETE BASIS FOR SUCH HOPE.

3. PORTUGUESE ASSISTANCE ON NAMIBIA: MARTINS SAID THE GOP WILL EXPLORE MPLA FEELINGS ON A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT WHEN ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAULO JORGE PASSES THROUGH LISBON LATER IN APRIL ON HIS WAY TO STOCKHOLM. HE FELT THAT ATTEMPTING TO RAISE THE MATTER THROUGH THE PORTUGUESE EMBASSY IN LUANDA WOULD NOT BE USEFUL, IMPLYING THAT THE PORTUGUESE EMBASSY IS NOT ABLE TO GET THROUGH TO NETO'S INNER CIRCLE.

4. ARRIVAL OF ANGOLAN AMBASSADOR: MARTINS SAID THAT ACCORDING TO THE LAST THAT THE GOP HAD HEARD, ANGOLAN AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL ADRIANO JOAO SEBASTIAO WAS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE SOMETIME IN APRIL. THE GOP WAS PLEASED THAT NETO HAD APPOINTED A PERSONAL FRIEND AS AMBASSADOR, RATHER THAN AN IMPORTANT MPLA OFFICIAL. (COMMENT: THIS IS ANOTHER

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INDICATION OF THE GOP WORRY THAT NETO IS BEING CUT OFF
FROM CONTACT WITH THE GOP THROUGH ESTABLISHED CHANNELS. THE
GOP HOPES THAT SEBASTIAO AS A PERSONAL FRIEND WILL BE ABLE
TO GET THE PORTUGUESE MESSAGE TO NETO BY CIRCUMVENTING THE
GOA BUREAUCRACY.)

5. EAST GERMANS: ACCORDING TO MARTINS, THE EAST GERMANS IN
LUANDA, HAVE BECOME DOMINANT IN INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA
ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS IN DISA (ANGOLAN SECRET POLICE). HE
DESCRIBED ANGOLAN PRIME MINISTER LOPO DO NASCIMENTO AS
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STRICTLY AN OPPORTUNIST, WHO FUTURE POLITICAL DIRECTION
COULD NOT BE PREDICTED.

6. MATEUS ON ANGOLA: PS INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY RUI MATEUS
IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION ECHOED MANY SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED
BY MARTINS. MATEUS ALSO FELT THAT IMPORTANT MESSAGES ARE
KEPT FROM NETO BY LOWER-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS AND CUBAN ADVISORS,
AND CITED TWO EXAMPLES:

-- PS REPRESENTATIVES LAST YEAR DELIVERED PERSONALLY TO NETO
A MESSAGE FROM THE WEST GERMAN SPD THAT THE SPD WISHED TO
SEND A DELEGATION TO VISIT NETO AS A PRELIMINARY STEP TO
ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN FRG AND
ANGOLA. NETO RESPONDED FAVORABLY TO PS REPS ON BOTH POINTS.
AFTER PS REPS' RETURN, MATEUS CABLED NETO TO CONFIRM THAT THE
SPD DELGATION DEFINITELY PLANNED TO VISIT LUANDA. MATEUS
RECEIVED NO REPLY. HE FINALLY TELEPHONED LUANDA, AND SPOKE
TO A MEMBER OF NETO'S INNER CIRCLE, WHO SAID THAT NETO HAD
NEVER RECEIVED THE CABLE, AND THAT NETO WISHED TO INVITE
SPD REPS TO ATTEND MPLA CONGRESS. BY THAT TIME, HOWEVER,
IT WAS TOO LATE FOR SPD REPS TO FIT A LUANDA VISIT INTO THEIR
SCHEDEULE.

-- RE THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S RECENT CONTACTS WITH SENEGALESE
PRESIDENT SENGHOR ON POSSIBLE TALKS BETWEEN SAVIMBI AND NETO
(LISBON 664) SAVIMBI HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO MEET
SECRETLY WITH NETO. A SUBSEQUENT MESSAGE ON THIS SUBJECT
FROM MATEUS TO NETO, HOWEVER, NEVER RECEIVED A REPLY.
MATEUS ASSUMES THE MESSAGE WAS WITHHELD FROM NETO.

7. ROLE OF PS: MATEUS CITED THE ABOVE INSTANCES AS ILLUSTRATIONS OF ROLE THAT CAN BE PLAYED BY A PARTY SUCH AS THE PS
WHICH IS IN POSITION TO COMMUNICATE WITH TOP ANGOLAN
LEADERSHIP DIRECTLY, CIRCUMVENTING BUREAUCRATIC DELAYS OF
NORMAL GOVERNMENT CHANNELS. HE SAID HONORARY PS CHAIMAN
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ANTONIO MACEDO, WHO SERVIED YEARS AGO AS NETO'S LAWYER IN
LISBON, HAS PARTICULARLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH NETO. REFERRING
TO DELAYS IN ESTABLISHING TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAMS
BETWEEN THE GOP AND ANGOLA, HE SAID THAT THE PS WAS IN A BETTER
POSITION TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A PROGRAM THROUGH WORKING DIRECTLY
WITH NETO AND THAT THE PS WAS CONSIDERING DOING SO. (COMMENT:
EMBASSY DOUBTS THAT THE PS HAS THE RESOURCES FOR SUCH
AN UNDERTAKING.) IN ADDITION, THE PS HAS SO FAR NOT MADE
SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER HEADWAY THAT THE GOP IN EFFORTS TO
IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE ANGOLANS.)

8. POLITICAL FORCES IN ANGOLA: MATEUS DESCRIBED NETO AS
BEING SHARPLY LIMITED IN HIS FREEDOM OF ACTION AND INCREASINGLY
COMPELLED TO SUBMIT TO SOVIET DIRECTION. HE BELIEVED THAT
SOVIETS ARE EXERTING THEIR INFLUENCE PARTICULARLY THROUGH

MPLA SECRETARY LUCIO LARA--NOT THAT LARA NECESSARILY PUTS SOVIET INTERESTS FIRST BY HIS OWN INCLINATION, BUT THAT SOVIET CONCENTRATE THEIR PRESSURE ON HIM BECAUSE OF HIS STRATEGIC POSITION IN MPLA LEADERSHIP. IN CONTRAST WITH OTHER PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS WHO REFER TO PAULO JORGE AS "MODERATE" AND FRIENDLY TO THE WEST, MATEUS DESCRIBED JORGE AS "DANGEROUS," PRO-CUBAN, AND INCLINED TO SAY WHATEVER HE THINKS HIS LISTENERS WANT TO HEAR.

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9. MANLEY SAYS CUBANS WILL STAY: MATEUS SAID THAT JAMAICAN PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL MANLEY HAD TOLD THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION IN MID-MARCH THAT CASTRO WILL ATTEMPT TO KEEP HIS TROOPS AND CIVILIAN ADVISORS IN AFRICA FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. MANLEY SAID THE

CUBAN ECONOMY IS NOT GROWING FAST ENOUGH TO ABSORB ITS
BETTER EDUCATED CADRES, AND THAT CASTRO FEARS SEVERE DOMESTIC
PROBLEMS WOULD RESULT IF ALL OR A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF HIS
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AFRICAN BASED TROOPS AND CIVILIAN TECHNICANS WERE TO RETURN
QUICKLY, AND FIND UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNSKILLED JOBS.

10. WESTERN ROLE IN ANGOLA: MATEUS SAID THAT SOVIETS AND
CUBANS NEED FIVE YEARS TO SUCCEED IN ESTABLISHING
AN ANGOLAN SYSTEM IN LINE WITH THEIR MODEL, AND THAT IT IS
IMPORTANT THAT WESTERN NATIONS HAVE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION
IN LUANDA NOW IN ORDER TO PROVIDE SOME LIMITED ALTERNATIVE
OPTION FOR NETO. MATEUS BELIEVES IT IS IMPORTANT FOR U.S. AND
WESTERN EUROPEANS TO WORK TOGETHER IN DEVELOPING THEIR
AFRICAN POLICIES. HE OPINED THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH
PORTUGUESE DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA WAS CARRIED OUT WAS DUE
NOT ONLY TO SUCH PORTUGUESE AS "ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO,
BUT ALSO TO THE PRESSURE PUT ON PORTUGAL BY WESTERN EUROPEANS,
WHO DID NOT GIVE SUFFICIENT CONSIDERATION TO THE CON-
SEQUENCES OF SUCH A RAPID DECOLONIZATION.

11. FOREIGN MINISTRY OPINION: IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION
APRIL 7, FOREIGN MINISTRY AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION
CHIEF PAULO ROURO DAS NEVES SPECULATED THAT IF NETO WERE TO
PASS FROM THE SCENE, HIS SUCCESSOR WOULD BE UNDER SOVIET
DOMINATION. NEVES ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE DIFFERENCE WOULD
BE ONE ONLY OF DEGREE, SINCE NETO HAS ALREADY LOST CONTROL
OF THE SITUATION TO THE SOVIETS.

12. ECONOMIC MATTERS: ON FURTHER PROBLEM IN PORTUGUESE-
ANGOLAN RELATIONS WAS DESCRIBED BY MENESSES CORDEIRO, CHIEF
OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC SECTION IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN
A CONVERSATION APRIL 7. HE SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH PORTUGAL
CONTINUES TO EXPORT GOODS--PRIMARILY WINE AND IRON AND
STEEL PRODUCTS--TO ANGOLA, ANGOLA IS HAVING GREAT DIFFICULTY
IN PAYING. CORDEIRO ALSO SAID THAT IN MARCH, A
GOP REPORT STATED THAT ILLEGAL TRAFFIC IN DIAMONDS CURRENTLY
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COSTS ANGOLA FOUR MILLION DOLLARS A MONTH.
(COMMENT: FONMINISTRY OFFICIALS EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST
IN CONTINUING TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON ANGOLA. CORDEIRO
WAS ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN RECEIVING ECONOMIC INFORMATION.)
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TAGS: PGOV, PO, AO, CU, UR, (MARTINS, LUIS)
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